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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the English language from an international perspective, highlighting its role, attainments, power, use, and cultural influence. It begins by discussing the use of English versus the use of Arabic as a language of higher education in Jordan, delineating conflicts between the two languages and defining both in terms of their advocacy and advocants. The second part presents challenges faced by language planners, educational planners, administrators, and decision makers at the highest legislative level in language planning on a country-wide basis. The third part reports findings on "innovative accommodation," or how a blend of English and Arabic is actually used in the university lecture hall by faculty members who were trained in English speaking countries to teach technical jargon to students lacking proficiency in English. The paper concludes with implications and recommendations. (Contains 33 references.) (SM)

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The Language of Higher Education in Jordan: Conflicts, Challenges and Innovative Accommodation

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A paper presented at the Selmun Seminar 1999 dedicated to the theme "Innovative Strategies in Meeting Educational Challenges in the Mediterranean", held in Malta June 13-19, 1999

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ABSTRACT

The Language of Higher Education in Jordan: Conflicts, Challenges and Innovative Accommodation

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For many reasons chief among which are the political and economic hegemony of the English speaking countries, English has been well established as the international language of science, technology, banking, diplomacy, medicine, communication, development and modernization worldwide. In no other area is the use of English more pervasive and controversial than at the higher educational level where the role of English is staunchly supported more as a tool of necessity than a streak of fashion and where many a native languages are giving more room to English.

This paper is tri-dimensional in perspective. In the first part, it views the English language in its international perspective showing its role, attainments, power, use and cultural influence. Then it descriptively surveys the use of English vs. the use of Arabic as a language of higher education in Jordan delineating the "conflicts" between the two languages and defining both in terms of their advocacy and advocants. In the second part, it critically presents the challenges posed for the language planner, the educational planner and administrator, and the decision maker at the highest legislative level in language planning at a countrywide bases. In the third part, the paper reports the findings on "innovative accommodation" or on how a blend of English and Arabic is actually used in the university lecture halls by faculty members who were mostly trained in English speaking countries to teach jargons in different technical fields to students whose proficiency in English leaves much to be desired. The more English the graduates know, however, the easier it becomes to find a job and move forward educationally and occupationally.

The paper concludes with implications and recommendations. Since the Jordanian case typifies the situation in most Mediterranean countries, these implications and recommendations may as well apply to these countries.

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1.1 INTRODUCTION: GENERAL PERSPECTIVE

In a paper entitled "The English Language in a Global Context" given at an international conference commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the British Council, Randolph Quirk, the prominent English grammarian (1985) firmly asserts that English is "The language on which the sun does not set, whose users never sleep. For between 1600 and 1900, speakers of English pushed themselves into every part of the globe (more recently, to lunatic deserts far beyond the globe), so that at this present time, English is more widely spread and is the chief language of more countries than any other language is or ever has been." Indeed, English has been well established as an international language which is immensely powerful. The language has been entrenched worldwide as Phillipson (1992:23) asserts for various reasons most important among which are "British colonialism, international interdependence, revolutions in technology, transport, communications and commerce, and because English is the language of the USA, a major economic, political and military force in the contemporary world". Kachru (1986) , exploring the power of English in the light of Foucault's theories of power, underlines the parameters of the power of English to include demographic and numerical (unprecedented spread), functional (access to knowledge), attitudinal (symbolic of neutrality, liberalism, status and progressivism), accessibility (link language, mobility across regions) pluricentricity (nativization, assimilation across cultures) and material (a tool for economic and social mobility).

People around the world especially in "periphery English countries – countries where English is used as a foreign or as a second language" find themselves under so much pressure, primarily economic but also political educational, cultural and social, to learn English and to see their own mother languages either displaced or underused. Some political leaders of strong nations are dismayed to see their languages undergo displacement or underusage. Phillipson (1992:34) gives the example of the role of French which was the dominant language of the European Community till 1972 when Britain along with Denmark and Ireland joined the community and French had to compete with English. Germany felt in 1984 that it should insist that German not only be theoretically given the right to equal use but it should in fact be so used. Because of the new roles English has assumed worldwide, it is displacing other second and foreign languages. The best example comes from Arab North Africa . The British Council profile of Tunisia (1982) concludes that the inevitable decline in Tunisian

French offers an unquestionable opportunity for the development of English, especially that the encouragement of English teaching is an official government policy. The Councils profile for Morocco (1977) talks about the "recurrent backlash from the French at the 'imperialism' of English and at times one can see their concern about the dominant position of French for political, economic and cultural reasons".

The issue of culture is associated with the issue of language; language dominance is associated with cultural dominance. In the case of English, the cultural influence of the English speaking culture, particularly in its American modes, has already found its way into most parts of the globe. It has proved irresistible especially by the young who have been profoundly impressed by the forms of dress, address, songs, fast food, past time activities, leisure …etc. Povey (1979:179) rightly maintains

> American culture, in a superficial sense has become the culture of much of the contemporary world, no matter the local modifications. Typically American things from free ways to ice cream, from jeans to rock music, are often familiar at first hand. This awareness is reinforced by secondary experience derived from the media. Film and TV shows throghout the world tend to be dominated by American production.

It should be made clear again at this point , however, that the issue of culture is inerwined with the issue of language and , in fact the two issues are inseparable. The spread of culture accompanies the spread of language and vice versa. At the same time , cultural "imperialism" is going hand in hand, and sometimes far ahead of linguistic imperialism. It may be revealing at this juncture to have a brief look at the intensity of the world wide permeation of cultural imperialism as a phenomenon before addressing the ramifications of the language of higher education. As defined by Schiller (1976:9 quoted by Phillipson 1992), cultural imperialism is the sum of processes by which a society is **brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system** [emphasis mine]". The means for the achievement of cultural imperialism are not only varied but they are well identified by educators, psychologists, and social scientists . They have included, but not restricted to according to Phillipson (1992:58-60) commercial products of all kinds, television serials (USA dominates telecommunications and satellite communications worldwide), youth culture(film, videos, pop music) , advertising agencies, government financed operations in cultural diplomacy including studying in the center country, English as a school subject or as a medium of instruction, stationing of interstate actors abroad, export of books and other reading materials, educational aid and higher educational links.

Government agencies provide aid for private enterprise that promotes cultural imperialism . The US government provided substantial subsidy to the Readers Digest, Life and Time magazines. In media, there is a lot of flow from the center to the periphery. Developing countries as well as many developed countries in the world which suffer from the burdens of cultural imperialism (Scandinavia for example) are wholly dependent in their international news on Reuter's. The flow in the opposite direction is either absent or minimal. Reuter's , which is a London based agency has served as 'the window to the world' as a Finnish researcher put it. Cultural products in the center serve as a model for the periphery. This apparently relates to language choice, use, learning/teaching and planning.

1.2. LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

Jordan is a country which fell under British mandate since its establishment till about the year 1946. English taught as a school subject in Jordanian schools for eight consecutive years from the fifth elementary grade (age 11-12) till the school leaving exam or The Secondary School Certificate Examination. In the private sector, english has gained more prestige and often starts in Kindergarten in private schools with more weekly hours. Despite serious attempts to teach French, English remains as the only foreign language taught at such a wide scale in the country. It is also the most important foreign language at the university level. It is in fact the medium of instruction in most of the Schools of Science, Engineering, Medicine and Business. As will be shown later.

The Jordanian Ministry of Education in the English Language Curriculum for the Compulsory Stage (1990) views English as a means of "promoting relations, understanding and cooperation between Jordan and the other countries of the world.". English is viewed as a medium through which Jordan relates to the world and the world relates to Jordan. Knowledge of English by a "sizeable sector" of the population is viewed as essential to economic, educational and technological development of the country. As a colleague recently put it (Abdulfattah forthcoming), English in Jordan is "conceived of as a window on humanitarian openers, a key to scientific and technological interaction between nations, a device for deciphering the secrets of informationalism and a ticket guaranteeing a shelter under the umbrella of globalization which all nations at present are seeking. More importantly, the Ministry views the experience of learning a foreign language and the familiarization with an other culture as a valuable experience at the educational level enriching to the learner in terms of appreciating his own language and culture.".

Systematic research studies that accurately document and assess the use of English on a country wide bases in Jordan as well as in many Arab countries are scanty. One of these few studies available is the survey of English language use (English Language Policy Survey) co sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the Center for Applied

Linguistics and conducted in Jordan by Harrison, Prator and Tucker (1975). The findings of the survey (random sample of 4,804 respondents) indicated that 63% of the sample use English at work, 89% of whom use it second most frequently. The 63% who indicated that they use English at work were mostly employed in adnministrative and managerial jobs (85%), followed by sales people (74%), professional or technical workers including teachers (70%) and clerical and related employees (62%). A relatively small proportion of those with little education use English. Of the respondents, 78% regarded English as being helpful or necessary for job success. Those occupying managerial and administrative posts reported the greatest need for English, followed by technical and professional employees. Those who reported using English at work use it to discuss business or technical matters at least once a day with their colleagues (32%), with their superiors (26%) and with their clients and subordinates (21%). Outside work, the survey indicated that 15% of all respondents use English for informal communication, 39% use English once or more a day to listen to the radio, TV or movies while 21% use English daily in reading for professional advancement. A major finding of the study is that the data "suggests that the respondents view English as a vehicle for educational and occupational mobility."

It can be fairly added that the use of English in Jordan has grown considerably in scale and intensity since the survey was conducted more than twenty years ago. It can be also reasonable to say at this stage that the status of English in Jordan at the end of the second millenium has moved from that of a foreign language to that of almost a second language. The development of a flourishing private sector in commerce and banking, private facilities in medicine, and education and private facilities in communication have called for the use of more and more English. The new world order and the era of globalization and the revolutionization of communication all have indeed called for and got the use of more and more English. It is also worth mentioning that Jordan has an English speaking radio station casting more than 12 hours daily and a very popular English TV channel telecasting more than ten hours daily. There is an English speaking daily newspaper and a weekly newsmagazine. It is doubtful to find a high ranking government official, army officer, banking manager or even supervisor, a medical doctor or a nurse … etc. who does not know English.

2. ARABICIZATION

A discussion of the language of instruction at the university level in Jordan is incomplete without delineating the issue if Arabicization which concerns Jordan as well as other Arab countries. It is paradoxical to notice that the issue of Arabicization, maximizing the use of Arabic, in the Eastern side of the Arab World (The North African case being different) came to the fore in greater intensity way after the independence of most Arab countries from their Western colonizers. In fact it was assumed that the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction at the university level should be taken for granted and that was the case in Jordan till the 1970s. There has always been strong calls towards Arabicization and enriching the Arabic language and

equiping it with the terminology to cover the new developments in technology and industry in the modern age. A lot of thinking has been directed towards coining, translating and deriving an ever increasing number of terms in different fields of knowledge. Several organizations at the local, national and international levels have been established to meet the drive for Arabicization of knowledge. Hamzawi (1986:12-14) numerates some of these existing organizations which extend throughout the Arab world. These have included

1. The Arabic language academies founded in Syria (1919), Egypt (1932), Iraq (1947), Jordan (1976) and Tunisia (1983).

2. Institutes and Research Departments and these have included the Department of Linguistics in the Institute for Economic and Social studies in Tunisia, The Institute for Research and Studies on Arabicization in Rabat and the Institute for Phonetic and Phonological Studies in algeria.

3. The Bureau for Coordination of Arabicization in the Arab World established in Rabat in 1961 by the Arab Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALESCO) of the Arab League. This Bureau has been extremely active in coining and standardizing terminology in various fields of knowledge (Hamzawi 1986 reports that up to the year 1981, this Bureau has coined, unified and standardized terms in 20 different disciplines which amounted to 67061 terms.

4. Different unions which have included The Scientific Arab Union established in 1954, the Union of Arab Universities established in 1960, the Union of the Academies of Arabic established in 1970 and the Union of Research Councils established in 1975.

5. The Arabicization and Terminology Standardization Conferences organized biannually by The Bureau for Coordination of Arabicization.. as well as the Conferences organized by ALESCO. (Cf. Khoury 1988)

The efforts of these organizations and bodies have been well augmented and supported by Organizations specializing in documentation and information sciences. These, according to Hamzaawi 1986) have included The Arab Regional Office for Research and Documentation in Social sciences and the Center for Information and Documentation of the general Secretariat of the Arab League. In the area of computer processing of terminology , reference can be made to the Arab League's Center of Information and Documentation and the regional offices in different Arab countries.. In the area of specifications and measurement, reference can be made to the Arab Organization of Unified specifications and Measurement stationed in Amman. These same efforts have been also supported by international organizations. In the area of standardization for example, the huge project called RAP intended to Arabize 28000 communications term was established in Rabat under the supervision of the United Nations Program for Development, the International Communications Union in collaboration with Arab Communications Union.

These efforts are monumental, sincere, and have been no doubt fruitful in producing, coining and translating a staggering number of terms in various disciplines, fields of study and sectors of practical every day experiences. Some of the projects undertaken have been systematically worked out and continued despite impediments. A project worth pointing out as an example in connection with the language of higher education is the ambitious and large scale project of translating the most widely used science textbooks in the areas of Mathematics, Biology, Physics, Algebra, Geology and Chemistry undertaken by The Jordanian Academy of Arabic. The textbooks for the first university year were completed and field tested while work is still going on the textbooks for the rest of the four BS program. (for a detailed discussion of this project, see Khalifa 1987).

Despite this enormous undertaking by all these bodies, local, national and international organizations, academies, societies, research institutes, academic departments and individuals, I can safely conclude that the Arabicization drive has NOT been a success. It has a very long way to go and it has many problems to overcome. This has been the impression of a number of researchers. In an article entitled "Why the Arabicization movement is stumbling", for example, Jabr 1996 in the most specialized journal in the field of Arabicization called Arabicization, numerates five reasons why the movement is stumbling. These are the low levels of coordination, lack of follow up, the delays in coining new terms and the lag of the field of terminology behind technological development, the fact that the information revolution is getting out of control and finally the unsystematic ways of communicating with the outside world.

Towards the end of this section, three major points in relation to the Arbicization drive should be made clear. First, Arabicization has long been realized as an issue with a very large political margian into it. In fact, Arabicization is more of a political than a technical decision regarding the creation of terminology. It is very difficult to get to the politics of Arabicization in this article but the question may always be raised as to why it has been a success in Syria and why Syrian universities have had a tradition of teaching all specialties through the medium of Arabic (see Murtadha 1997 for a revealing evaluation of the Syrian experience in the teaching of Medicine in Arabic at the schools of Medicine in Syrian universities for the last seventy five years)

Second, Arabicisation in its wider perspective does not seem to place high on the agendas of the Arab governments. They have been giving the cause of Arabicization a lot of lip service. The proceedings of conferences on Arabicization, the recommendations of meetings, symposia and seminars at the highest levels in the Arab world are repeated as slogans and rarely put to application in the field. In connection with the Arabicization of higher education, the writer has just received the recommendations of the sixty fifth Annual Conference of the Arabic Language

Academy in Egypt (1999) and it is striking to note that these recommendations have been reiterated for the last forty years and they have never been implied. Though these Arabic language academies are official bodies sponsored by Arab governments, there is no evidence that these academies have ever been consulted on the language policies in higher education. ,

Third, Arabicization is no doubt a major intervening variable in the quality of education in general; a point less emphasized in Arabicization circles and completely neglected by educational planners and decision makers in the country. This issue was very well delineated by S. Al-Shawi (1994) in a paper given at a Conference of Ministers in Charge of Higher Education in the Arab World and held in Algeria in 1981. Al-Shawi, secretary general of the union of Arab universities then, affirms that

> Terminology is not the essence of the problem. ... The problem is the language of instruction in that it is the learner's means of communication, comprehension, expression and also in thought and imagination. the call for Arabicization should not be motivated only by our pride in our national language, but it should also be motivated by the fact that Arabicization would help us avoid the serious dangers threatening university education and leading to superficiality , shallowness and the deprivation of the student from his proper understanding and comprehension of what he is learning in a foreign language. This deprivation leads him to rote memorization of what he is learning without understanding. [Translation mine].

It has been my experience at many Arab universities where you see even First year students who have serious problems with the basics of English and who cannot pass English 101 easily struggling with standard American and British textbooks for their 101 courses in Business or Science. How much can a student with a pitifully low competence in English make out of that textbook?

3. THE LANGUAGE QUESTION AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL

When the first Jordanian university was established back in 1962, Arabic was the soul language of instruction in its colleges of the humanities, Social Sciences and Economics and Commerce. But as the other colleges of Science and Science based education were established to complete the structure of the university around 1971, the languge issue came to the fore . English was suggested to be the medium of instruction at the colleges of Science, Engineering, Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing, Pharmacy and Agriculture. The laws of the University (The University of Jordan Law) explicitly stated that Arabic is the medium of instruction at the University but the university council "may approve using another language for instruction when deemed necessary" . This exception served as the main legal outlet for using English as the language of instruction at these colleges of the University of Jordan. When the second university, Yarmouk University, was established in 1976, its law (Yarmouk

university Law 1976) used the same article employed in the University of Jordan laws and regulations. However, at Yarmouk, English was staunchly instated as the language of instruction at the colleges of natural science, engineering, Allied health sciences, Economics and Administration. Outside the Department of Arabic, English was variably used in the Humanities at Yarmouk. Other Jordanian universities followed suit on the language issue. Either English was instated as the language of instruction or no clear line was taken at full Arabicization. The controversy over the use of Arabic vs. English as the language of higher education in Jordan continued with more faculty members from the College of Science pushing towards full Arabicization . The controversy culminated in hot deliberations in the Jordanian House of Parliament in 1985. As a result, the second clause of article 8 referred to earlier was amended to read. (Yarmouk University Law, No. 25, 1985; Published in the Official Gazette, Laws, Bylaws and Regulations at Yarmouk University, 1995):

> Article 8: a: Arabic is the language of Instruction at the University.
> b. The University Council may approve the use of another language in cases where the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction in teaching any courses is deemed difficult while continue attempting towards Arabicization of instruction in these courses.

This article with its amendment became article 7 of the Unified Law of Jordanian Universities (Law No. 29 for the year 1987 and published in the Official Gazette, issue No. 3499. Cf. Laws, Bylaws and Regulations at Yarmouk University, 1995). No substantial change in actuality took place after the amendment of this article and after making it a law for all Jordanian universities. The exception in the article is still the rule at the university level when it comes to the use of English as the medium of instruction. .Several factors contributed to more use of English at Jordanian universities, most important of which are the following:

1. The overwhelming majority of faculty members at Jordanoian universities is Western educated and they favor the use of English as a medium of instruction through which they themselves received their education in Britain and the US. These faculty members find it more convenient to use English in the classroom and they are therefore reluctant to make serious efforts at using Arabic.

2. The use of Arabic in some highly technical areas may also seem counterproductive especially in fields where coinage, use and standardaization of terminology are chaotic . In the April 1998 issue of the Arabic version of Windows magazine, the editor (Abdullah 1998) asks the revealing question: why do Arab computer journalists always request that computer related data be relayed to them in English? The editorial answers the question maintaining that reading it in English saves the their time in

deciphering the mysteries of Arabic computer texts written by people who know the least about computers. Abdullah (1998) gives some striking examples of the chaotic nature of term coinage and use calling for more systematic efforts towards serious Arabicization.

3. There is a serious lack of basic source materials in the form of reference books or journals in Arabic specially for scientific, engineering and medical courses. Moreover, the development of specialized terminology in most fields of scientific knowledge begs for more work in the Arab World despite what has been attempted (cf. Hamzawi 1986). This situation, as Pierson and Friedricks (1981) rightly point out is not uncommon in most Third World countries.

4. The administrations of different universities, specially those universities which offer medicine and engineering, take pride in the fact that English is the medium of instruction at these universities. The administration as well as the graduates tell story after story on how graduates have been placed in graduate programs in English speaking countries and how knowledge of English made this process easy.(cf. Zughoul and Taminian 1984)

5 A small percentage of faculty members at Jordanian universities are non-Arabic speaking. Unfortunately, for economic reasons this percentage is even growing less and less. Jordanian universities started a tradition of faculty exchange with many non-Arabic speaking universities, benefited from faculty allotment in some international exchange programs and tried every now and then to recruit non-Arabic speaking faculty members in departments where there is a shortage. (for example, there are non-Arabic speaking faculty at Yarmouk university in the departments of English, Mathematics, Statistics, Business Administration and Archaeology. These non-Arabic speaking faculty members are expected naturally to teach in English.

6. The increasing role of the language as a working tool in so many areas of life in Jordan particularly in the private sector has shown again and again the instrumentality of English in job finding both in Jordan and outside Jordan. The banking sector for example has started in an officially unannounced policy to favor the graduates of Yarmouk university for the School of Business at Yarmouk calls for more use of English.

4. INNOVATIVE ACCOMMODATION

It is evident that there are two opposing trends ; that which favors the exclusive use of Arabic as a medium of instruction and highly supported by purists, nationalists, the academies and the majority of the students in the different specializations in the university (cf. Zughoul and Taminian 1984). The other trend favors the use of English and it is supported by consequent university administrations (though none of these

administrations is vocal about this support), top level decision makers (they are not vocal about it either) and a flourishing private sector running its businesses in English. Tied up between the strong drive for Arabicization on one hand and the equally strong if not stronger and more appealing tendency to teach through English especially in Science, technology, economics and medicine the question arises as to what is actually happening in the classroom. The faculty, the students and the university are not going to wait for the immediate decision of the language planner. A new medium of instruction , a tool of necessity has emerged in which a mixture of both English and Arabic is used. This mixture, technically termed code switching and code mixing is known to be a communicative strategy very well attested in the speech of bilinguals, multilinguals and foreign language learners. These strategies are well employed in the classroom at the university level particularly in the schools of Business, Science, engineering and Medicine. This blend of the two languages is variably termed, depending on the attitude of the speaker, as "a strange mixture", "a blend", "a hybrid", "a pidgin", a cocktail", "hodgepodge", hotchpotch" etc.

This "innovative accommodation" to the new situation of being divided between the use of the native language Arabic and the foreign language English will be described as seen in two well documented studies conducted on the language of instruction at the university level in Jordanian universities, namely, Zughoul and Hussein (1985), and Mustafa and Al-Khatib (1994).

Before embarking on the description of the language variety employed in the classroom, it seems in order to give some idea about the theoretical context of code switching and code mixing as linguistic phenomena as well as communication strategies. The speech of bilinguals, multilinguals and foreign language learners have been attested in the literature to be characterized by code switching, code mixing, interference and borrowing. Code switching and code mixing have been recognized as creative aspects of bilingual speech and they serve different communicative , social and pragmatic purposes. The speaker switches the code for different reasons depending on the situation, the function and the topic. (Cf. Gumperz 1982, Hoffman 1991). Put simply, code switching involves the use of two or more different codes (languages) in a conversation or a speech act or the alternation between two languages. Mixing is similar to switching, however, they have been technically distinguished in the literature. Bokamba (1989)makes the following distinctions

a. Code switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from distinct grammatical (sub-) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event. In other words, CS is intersentential switching.

b. Code mixing is embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words, (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from two grammatical (sub-) systems within the same sentence and speech event.

In their well documented case study of Yarmouk University in Jordan, Zughoul and Hussein (1985) investigated the general patterns of English language use in the classroom through the responses of 1,147 Yarmouk University students (13% of the student population at the University) and a sample of 130 faculty members from the rank of Assistant Professor or above (50% of the faculty population) The students and the faculty samples were drawn from faculties of Natural Sciences, Medical sciences, Economics and Administrative Sciences and Arts and Humanities. The students reported that 80% of the courses are taught in English, 76% of these courses have English textbooks, the bookstore rarely orders Arabic textbooks, 70% of the sample think that knowledge of English is a decisive factor in success at the university level. Analysis of the faculty questionnaire indicated that 67% of the respondents teach their courses in English while 12% indicated that they use both Arabic and English. Only 14% said they use Arabic exclusively. 81% of the faculty respondents indicated that they order English textbooks.

What actually happens in the classroom? In which language is classroom interaction and actual teaching is conducted? What about classroom questions, discussion, evaluation, written assignments, oral reports ...etc? Zughoul and Hussein state the following conclusions after analyzing 14 questions on the faculty questionnaire addressing these issues.

> ...we can conclude that actual classroom teaching is mostly conducted in English while there is room for the use of Arabic in classroom discussion. Question on the content of the lecture are likely to be raised in Arabic and to be answered in English. As to classroom notes and written assignments, a majority of the faculty indicated a preference pattern for English. Faculty members state that they that they generally refer students to different reference materials –more so to reference books than to professional journals. The overwhelming majority of faculty members give examinations in English and ask students to answer in English. However, faculty members feel that a sizable percentage of students are not sufficiently competent in English to follow class lectures.

Zughoul and Hussein (1985) continue to conclude regarding the student's language needs

> With regard to the perception of needs, students and faculty were in agreement; both; both indicated that the most needed skill for success at the university level is listening comprehension; but whereas students ranked speaking, reading and writing next, faculty members arranged them in the order of reading, writing and then speaking. In the ranking of the subskills, students and faculty were almost in full agreement. When directly asked about their overall training and preparation, the students'

responses indicated favorable agreement. The faculty members were more critical of this overall training and preparation.

It can be added here that the observer may notice some established patterns in the distribution of roles for the two languages in the classroom. Classroom management is often conducted in Arabic, while the introduction of jargon and technical terms is wholly English. Examples and explanations may use a mixed code.

In their analysis of five hours of lectures in Engineering, Medicine, Pharmacy, Biology, Chemistry and agriculture at the Jordan University of Science and Technology (JUST), Mustafa and Al-Khatib found that the lectures tended to use mixed sentences more often than totally Arabic or totally English sentences. Out of 1189 sentences in the five lectures, 14.3% were totally Arabic, 34.7% totally English and 51% mixed sentences. Most of the mixes were at the level of single nouns, followed by phrases, clauses, adjectives, articles, conjunctions, pronouns, adverbs, verbs and, and finally prepositions. It is to be noted here that JUST has the same laws of the University of Jordan which decree that Arabic is the language of instruction but in fact the language of instruction is English mixed with Arabic.

In computer classes for example, the following terms have become household items uttered as they are with the flavor of some nouns pluralized in Arabic or verbs given the Arabic verb formation inflections. Such terms for example may include windows, menu, edit, font, mackintosh, web, site, electronic, megaherz, , laser, monitor, desk drive, graphics, CD, microsoft office, internet, Pentium, work station, spreadsheet, excel, intel, etc. while the Arabic words and their derivatives for the equivalents of English processing, diskette, file, clip, paste ...etc are used. Any of these English terms may take the definite article al- and may take any of the Arabic inflectional; suffixes used for Arabic roots. It should be pointed out in this connection that even writing, professional and journalistic, in Arabic about a highly technical area as computers may have as one of its main characteristics this code mixing of the two languages adding to it the novel feature of writing these English terms in Arabic letters going exactly the opposite direction – from right to left.

CONCLUSIONS

The spread of English worldwide has been phenomenal and it has indeed intruded into the territory of other languages in the world. The factors behind the spread of English are varied but as summarized by Fishman and Cooper, they related to economic and political hegemony of the English speaking countries. An area where the use of English has been pervasive is higher education. In Jordan English is approaching the status of a second language In higher education , there is a serious conflict between the drive for Arabicization supported by different sectors of the society, the language

academy and a good number of academicians and the use of English strongly supported by the private sector and an undeclared government policy. Despite official lip service to the quest for Arabicization represented by making laws and breaking them on the official side, English remains the medium of instruction specially in the faculties of Business, Science, Engineering and Medicine at all Jordanian universities. However, it is the norm in teaching to use an English textbook, to give exams in English, to give papers, reports and assignments in English and to lecture using a mix of English and Arabic. This mixing of codes is an innovative way of accommodating to a situation marked with conflicts.

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